

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 5872

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, PARM

SUBJECT: OCTOBER 21 PSC MEETING: ALLIANCE DETENTE CONSULTATIONS

REF: USNATO 5556

SUMMARY: IN USEFUL DISCUSSION, OCTOBER 21, ON U.S. DETENTE CONSULTATION PROPOSAL, SOME ALLIES FAVORED DETAILED SPC REPORT BASED ON SECRETARY'S SFRC STATEMENT, UK PAPER, APAG REPORT, AND WORK OF UPCOMING SOVIET/EE EXPERTS. OTHERS PREFERRED SPC IDENTIFICATION OF A FEW KEY POINTS TO PROVIDE STRUCTURE TO DETENTE DISCUSSION IN NAC. U.S. REP ATTEMPTED STEER SPC WORK TOWARD LATTER OUTCOME. END SUMMARY.

1. AT OUTSET OF OCTOBER 21 SPC MEETING, ACTING CHAIRMAN (KILLHAM) REVIEWED U.S. PROPOSAL AND SUBSEQUENT SPC DISCUSSION, AND SUGGESTED THAT COMMITTEE WORK TOWARD PREPARATION OF A CHAIRMAN'S REPORT TO THE COUNCIL.

2. CANADIAN REP (ROY) SAID CANADA HAD A CLEARER IDEA OF U.S. PROPOSAL AFTER SPC WASHINGTON VISIT. COMMITTEE MUST NOW DECIDE HOW ALLIANCE WILL PROCEED, AND TO WHAT DEGREE IT WILL DRAW ON RECENT SPECIFIC ITEMS SUCH AS THE SECRETARY'S STATEMENT, THE APAG REPORT, AND THE UK STUDY PROPOSAL (REFTEL).
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CANADIANS HAVE PROBLEM WITH UK APPROACH SINCE IT MIGHT OVEREMPHASIZE THE ROLE AND VIEWS OF KREMLINOLOGISTS. CANADIANS AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT ANALYSIS ALONG LINES SUGGESTED BY UK WOULD BE A USEFUL PART OF OVERALL ALLIANCE CONSIDERATION

OF DETENTE.

3. REGARDING SECRETARY'S SFRC STATEMENT, ROY RECALLED AGREEMENT AMONG SPC MEMBERS WHILE IN WASHINGTON THAT ALL ALLIES CONCURRED IN MANY OF THE SECRETARY'S VIEWS. SPC ALSO RECOGNIZED, HOWEVER, THE SEPTEMBER 19 STATEMENT DEALT HEAVILY WITH BILATERAL U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONSHIPS. ROY BELIEVED IT USEFUL, THEREFORE, TO SEE WHAT DETENTE ADVANTAGES HAD ACCRUED TO OTHER MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE SINCE THESE MIGHT BE DIFFERENT FROM THOSE ACCRUING TO THE U.S. ALLIANCE DISCUSSIONS MIGHT ALSO FOCUS ON FUTURE OF DETENTE AFTER CSCE AND CURRENT SALT AND MBFR PHASES. AS FOR ALLIANCE ATTEMPTS TO DEFINE THE MEANING OF DETENTE, OTTAWA SUGGESTED "EFFORTS TO NORMALIZE EAST-WEST RELATIONSHIPS".

4. U.S. REP (PEREZ) THANKED ROY FOR CANADIAN CONTRIBUTION, AND NOTED THAT WASHINGTON REMAINED PRIMARILY INTERESTED IN ALLIED COMMENTS AND HAD NOT DECIDED ON QUESTION OF A MORE FORMAL STUDY. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY MESSRS. SONNENFELDT AND HARTMAN TO THE SPC IN WASHINGTON REFLECTED THE U.S. APPROACH.

5. NETHERLANDS REP (BUWALDA) SAID THAT SPC SHOULD LIMIT ITSELF TO PREPARING GROUNDWORK FOR A DETENTE DISCUSSION IN THE COUNCIL, AND PERHAPS AT THE DECEMBER MINISTERIAL. SUCH CONSULTATIONS SHOULD WORK TOWARD HARMONIZATION OF ALLIED VIEWS ON DETENTE INCLUDING MBFR AND CSCE AS WELL AS BILATERAL ISSUES. DISCUSSION SHOULD ALSO FOCUS ON WHAT ADVANTAGES ALLIES MIGHT ANTICIPATE FROM FURTHER DETENTE; PRICE ALLIES WILL BE ASKED AND WILL BE WILLING TO PAY; LIMITS OF SOVIET/EE TOLERANCE IN THE AREAS OF SECURITY AND CULTURAL CONTACTS WITHOUT RISKS TO THEIR INTERNAL SYSTEMS; AND TACTICS TO GUARANTEE MAXIMUM ADVANTAGE FOR THE WEST. IN ADDRESSING THESE QUESTIONS, ALLIES COULD DRAW ON A VARIETY OF U.S. AND OTHER NATIONAL STATEMENTS ON DETENTE AS WELL AS ON THE APAG REPORT AND ON THE WORK OF THE SOVIET/EE EXPERTS.

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6. BUWALDA SUGGESTED DRAWING UP A LIST OF QUESTIONS, TO INCLUDE THE UK PROPOSALS CITED REFTTEL, FOR ANALYSIS BY THE SOVIET/EE EXPERTS AT THEIR NOVEMBER 5-8 MEETING. EXPERTS MIGHT ALSO ADDRESS SOVIET DETENTE OBJECTIVES IN THE SECURITY AND ECONOMIC AREAS AND WHETHER THESE OBJECTIVES WERE EQUALLY SHARED BY EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. BUWALDA NOTED THAT EXPERTS DISCUSSIONS MAY REVEAL DIFFERENCES AMONG THE ALLIES (HE REFERRED SPECIFICALLY TO THE FRENCH), BUT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO KNOW THESE IN ADVANCE SO THEY COULD BE FACTORED INTO NATIONAL POLICY. ON TIMING, BUWALDA HOPED THAT THE SPC AND OTHER NATO BODIES WOULD RESTRICT THEIR DISCUSSIONS TO THE MAIN ISSUES, AND IN SUFFICIENT TIME TO PERMIT A MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION ON DETENTE IN DECEMBER.

7. ITALIAN REP (SPINELLI) COMMENTED THAT UK AND CANADIAN PROPOSALS FOR CARRYING SPC WORK FORWARD SEEMED TOO BROAD. ITALIANS WOULD PREFER TO RETURN TO THE ORIGINAL U.S. IDEA AND PERHAPS IDENTIFY THREE OR FOUR PARTS OF THE SECRETARY'S SPEECH ON WHICH THE ALLIES CAN AGREE OR DISAGREE. THESE COULD THEN FORM BASIS FOR ALLIANCE DISCUSSION.

8. FRENCH REP (BEAUCHATAUD) SAID PARIS WAS STILL STUDYING THE U.S. PROPOSAL. HE WONDERED, HOWEVER, IF THE PREPARATION OF A LIST OF QUESTIONS MIGHT LEAD TO RESTRICTIVE DISCUSSION SOLELY ON THE BASIS OF THOSE ISSUES. IT MIGHT BE PREFERABLE TO STRUCTURE DISCUSSIONS TO BE BROADER IN SCOPE AND CONTENT. FRENCH REP ALSO ASKED WHETHER SPC WOULD BE PREFERRED FORUM FOR ALLIANCE WORK AFTER SOVIET/EE EXPERTS HAD DISCUSSED DETENTE IN EARLY NOVEMBER.

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9. KILLHAM RAISED PROCEDURAL QUESTION ON FACTORING EXPERTS' WORK INTO SPC EFFORT. HE BELIEVED THAT SOVIET/EE EXPERTS SHOULD NOT BE ASSIGNED TASK OF STATING OR DEFENDING THEIR OWN GOVERNMENTS' VIEWS ON DETENTE BUT RATHER FOCUSING ON SOVIETS AND EE ATTITUDES.

10. NORWEGIAN REP (SELMER) HOPED THAT ALLIED NATIONAL AUTHORITIES AND DELEGATIONS WOULD NOT FEEL RESTRICTED IN THEIR DISCUSSION BY ANY GUIDELINES WHICH THE SPC MIGHT ESTABLISH. SPC MIGHT IDENTIFY A FEW KEY ISSUES SUCH AS: WESTERN ACHIEVEMENTS ON DETENTE, FUTURE EXPECTATIONS, AND HARMONIZATION OF ALLIED DETENTE POLICIES. NORWAY FELT LATTER WAS PARTICULARLY NECESSARY IF THE ALLIES WERE TO EFFECTIVELY RELATE DETENTE STEPS IN ONE AREA (E.G., CSCE) TO OTHER EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS (MBFR).

11. UK REP (LOGAN) SAID NEXT SPC MEETING SHOULD SET
DEFINITE PROCEDURES, TIMING AND FOCUS FOR FURTHER WORK.
U.S. REP AND BELGIAN REP (BAL) AGREED.

12. KILLHAM ASKED ALLIES TO SEEK INSTRUCTIONS FROM GOVERNMENTS
ON PARTICULAR DETENTE QUESTIONS/ASPECTS TO BE POSED TO
SOVIET/EE EXPERTS. THESE SHOULD BE FORMULATED AT NEXT SPC
SESSION ON DETENTE SINCE EXPERTS BEGIN THEIR MEETING
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NOVEMBER 5. IN ADDITION TO HEARING ANY FURTHER NATIONAL
COMMENTS AND PROVIDING INSTRUCTIONS TO SOVIET/EE EXPERTS, SPC
WOULD ALSO FOCUS ON NEXT STEPS FOR PREPARING NAC DISCUSSION.
TO HELP IN LATTER TAKS, IS WOULD ATTEMPT DRAFTING A PAPER
IDENTIFYING QUESTIONS TO SERVE AS FRAMEWORK FOR NAC DISCUSSION.
COMMENT: MISSION BELIEVES PROCEDURAL PROPOSALS,
INCLUDING IS ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY FOUR OR FIVE KEY DETENTE
QUESTIONS, SHOULD MOVE US TOWARD BROAD-RANGING COUNCIL
DISCUSSION WE SEEK. MOREOVER, AS MISSION HAS PROPOSED
IN PAST, WE THINK REGIONAL EXPERTS -- IN THIS CASE SOVIET/EE
MEETING -- CAN MAKE MEANINGFUL CONTRIBUTIONS TO
DELIBERATIONS IN OTHER NATO BODIES ON SUBJECTS OF SPECIFIC
INTEREST TO THE ALLIANCE. WHILE SOVIET/EE EXPERTS ANALYSIS
OF DETENTE ISSUES PUT TOTHEM BY SPC SHOULD IN NO WAY
RESTRICT OR BIND SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION, WE THINK EXPERTS'
ASSESSMENTS OF SOVIET AND EE DETENTE ATTITUDES WOULD PROVIDE
A NECESSARY ELEMENT IN FURTHER DETENTE DISCUSSIONS.
SECURETARY'S SFRC REMARKS, AND OTHER NATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS
ON DETENTE AS WELL AS APAG REPORT WOULD ALSO PROVIDE BASES
FOR SUBSEQUENT ALLIANCE DISCUSSION. AS TO SUBJECTS WHICH
SOVIET/EE EXPERTS MIGHT ADDRESS, MISSION THINKS UK PAPER IS
USEFUL STATEMENT OF RELEVANT CONSIDERATIONS. IF DEPARTMENT
CONCURS, WE WOULD PROPOSE TO MAKE ABOVE POINTS IN NEXT SPC
DETENTE DISCUSSION, NOW SCHEDULED FOR
OCTOBER 28. MISSION WOULD APPRECIATE ANY ADDITIONAL WASHINGTON
COMMENTS ON BRITISH PAPER OR ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS WHICH
EXPERTS MIGHT ADDRESS. WE WOULD ALSO PROPOSE TO CONTINUE
STEERING SPC IN DIRECTION OF NAC DISCUSSION ON BASIS OF
BRIEF FRAMEWORK PAPER SUCH AS I.S. IS NOW DRAFTING. IN THIS
REGARD, WE ASSUME FROM ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN'S REMARKS TO
SPC IN WASHINGTON THAT U.S. ENVISAGES MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION
ON DETENTE IN DECEMBER.
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